2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

The characteristic North American guardian spirit experience in which an individual sees his benefactor once only and receives a token from him is unknown to the Kaingáng, to whom the only earnest of security is continuous, unbroken contact. All lasting relations with the spirits are expressed systematically in the habitual mode—"all the time." The Kaingáng do not say that the spirit did so and so. They say it "would [i.e. regularly] do so and so." So Ketédn,[9] who could walk dry through a downpour, "used to see *nggĭyúdn*. He saw Yóin and used to go out with him and shoot tapirs. Yóin would say: *'Yûgn*, there is a tapir,' and Ketédn would shoot it." Although "living with" the spirits does not involve intermarriage and sharing of wives, as it may on the human level, it does imply the sharing of food. A quarter must be left for the spirit that has shown one where to kill a tapir, and honey must be shared with one's supernatural benefactor. Kakthí[10] "saw Snake, who told her to get honey, and she always shared it with him." Such a division of food is not conceived as a sacrifice or as a payment for goods received but simply as the same kind of sharing that exists between hunting companions or among members of the same extended family.

Shamanism[11] *and Curing*

A guardian spirit came to one through an accidental encounter or through being "pointed out" by a shaman, i.e. one who already "had been seeing it" for a long time. The preliminary mortification of the flesh—the fasting and self-torture—that are found over wide areas in North America where the vision is known was foreign to the Kaingáng. Nor did the Kaingáng prescribe any training for those who were to receive guardian spirits. The spectacular visions that are features of the guardian-spirit quest in North America were unknown. Kaingáng visions of spirits of the natural world were very simple: "One day Ketédn bent down to drink from a pool. When he looked up over his shoulder, he saw Toad, who said to him, *'Yûgn*, why do you come?' 'I am looking for tapir.' 'You will not see tapir, you will see *tateti*.'[12] Then Ketédn shot *tateti*." Many visions were of this simple character. Some were invitations, like Vomblé's vision of Bee, who invited him to come to his house. Occasionally someone lost consciousness through fear of the spirit and was told where to find animals while lying senseless, but there was rarely any visual or auditory elaboration of detail. The very appearance of the spirits remained vague, for they were described simply as looking like human beings or like the animals they represented. Encounters with the ghost-soul or dreams of supernatural

[9] See p. 43.

[10] See fn. p. 67.

[11] There are no Kaingáng shamans today; the few there were have died.

[12] An animal resembling a pig that lives in burrows on hillsides. It is about two feet long and somewhat less in height.